Contacts Outside the Community

Radio and movies provide indirect contact between the community and the outside world and seem to encourage the acceptance of urban behavior patterns. (See Table 16.) In addition, however, there is direct contact between the community and the capital city. The inhabitants commute to Bangkok to sell their products or to visit. Some go to the city to live for a time, to attend the city's schools, to work as laborers or to serve in the military or police force. For example, about a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) reported that during the year preceding the survey they had been to Bangkok ten or more times. About a third of the sample (35 per cent) have lived in Bangkok, mostly for the purpose of working there. On the other hand, almost half the sample (45 per cent) have never been to the Don Muang Airport; and over two-thirds (69 per cent) have never been to the Annual Agricultural Fair.

One would expect that such direct exposure to the urban life and values of the capital city, for example, might be linked with greater readiness to try out improved methods of agriculture either because exposure to urban life may mean exposure to more information, or, less directly, may mean exposure to the urban values of economic self-advancement and experimentation. And there is, indeed, a relationship between exposure to the capital city and use of the motor. The two factors are not linked for all the residents--the relationship is a conditional one. That is, it is mainly among illiterate farmers where urban contact is associated with readier acceptance of the motor.

TABLE 19. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WHO HAVE GREATER CONTACT WITH THE CITY ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

"This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"

Literacy	Never or once (Proportion who own or use the motor)		Twice or more (Proportion who own or use the motor)	
Illiterate	44%	(40)	58%	(51)
Literate	83	(36)	88	(83)

* Male farmers only

In the same way, there is a similar conditional link between use of the motor and wider contacts beyond the horizons of Bang Chan. Visits to the airport and to the agricultural fair, for example, (both centers of contact with urban culture) are associated with use of the motor among illiterate farmers. If the farmer can read and write, on the other hand, he is just

APPENDIX B

Cornell Methodology Project
Thailand, May 1955

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BANG CHAN STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE (Frequency Distributions)

A. Ser. No. B. Hamlet and H C. Date of Interview E. Name of Respondent [162]

F. Sex	9.	male	243
	X.	female	90
G. Religious Affiliation	0.	Buddhist	298
	Y.	Moslem	35
H. Main Occupation	8.	Farm operator	269
	9.	Farm laborer	24
	X.	Trade and commerce	18
	Y.	Service	10
	0.	Other, Specify_____	12
I. R is HH or not HH	1.	HH	277
	2.	Not HH	56
J. If not HH, relationship to HH	3.	Husband	—
	4.	Wife	41
	5.	Son	10
	6.	Daughter	2
	7.	Father	—
	8.	Mother	—
	9.	Mother-in-law	—
	X.	Other relative	3

[46]

1.a. Were you born in Bang Chan Commune, Khanna Yao Commune, Minburi Commune, or outside?

b. If outside, in what province were you born? [166]

1.	BC Commune	116
2.	KY Commune	141
3.	Minburi Commune	11
4.	Commune unascertainable	2
5.	Outside BC, KY, Minburi	30
7.	Unascertainable	33

2.a. How old are you?
b. In what zodiac year were you born? [162]

1.	20 to 29	41
2.	30 to 39	81
3.	40 to 49	85
4.	50 to 59	68
5.	60 to 69	41
6.	70 and over	17

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b. And how about mushroom growing? Do you think mushroom growing yields very good money, good money, or little money? [244]

5. Very good money	68
6. Good money	160
7. Little money	49
8. Unascertainable	56

c. And what about Tilapia. Do you think tilapia raising pays very good money, or good money, or little money? [228]

9. Very good money	15
X. Good money	73
Y. Little money	175
O. Unascertainable	70

39. Do you believe in mediums strongly, somewhat, or not at all? [787]

1. Strongly	12
2. Somewhat	192
3. Not at all	105
4. Unascertainable	24

40.a. Suppose you could do the same work in another rural place and earn ½ more than here. For example, it would be a place 100 kilometers from here. Would you be willing to leave for that place or not? [166]

5. Yes	118
6. No	203
7. Unascertainable	12

.b. IF NO: For what various reasons would you not be willing to go?
(See code at end)

41.a. If you had no land to work in EC-KY would you move to another place or not?

X. Yes	166
Y. No	112
O. Unascertainable	20
— No Answer	35

b. IF NO: For what various reasons?
(See code at end)

42.a. Some people say that, generally speaking people who live in Bangkok have more genuine and lasting happiness than people here in EC-KY. Do you agree or disagree? [369] [829]

1. Agree	136
2. Disagree	134
3. Unascertainable	63

b. IF AGREE: For what various reasons do you agree?

If Agreement (See code at end)

62.c. IF YES: What is the total number of months that you lived in Bangkok? 125 [166].

5.	One year or less	31
6.	13 to 24 months	30
7.	25 to 60 months (5 yr)	21
8.	More than 5 years	35
9.	Unascertainable	

63.a. Is there anyone now eating and living in your house who once lived in Bangkok, or not? [592] [166]

9.	Yes	36
X.	No	296
Y.	Unascertainable	1

b. IF YES: What is your relationship to this person(s)?

1.	Son	9
2.	Daughter	6
3.	Father	2
4.	Mother	-
5.	Brother	2
6.	Sister	3
7.	Other relative	14
8.	Unascertainable	-

c. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?

1.	Below 15 years	5
2.	15 to 19	8
3.	20 to 29	15
4.	30 years or more	4
5.	Unascertainable	4

d. IF YES: How long did he (she, they) live in Bangkok?

6.	Less than one year	5
7.	1 to 4 years	19
8.	5 to 9	6
9.	10 years or more	5
X.	Unascertainable	1

64.a. Is there anyone who has previously eaten and lived in your house and who is now working in Bangkok, or not?

1.	Yes	92
2.	No	241
3.	Unascertainable	

b. IF YES: What is your relationship to this person(s)?

4.	Son	35
5.	Daughter	21
6.	Brother	16
7.	Sister	8
8.	Other relative	18
9.	Unascertainable	—
—	No Answer	2

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125 64.a. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?

[166] [592]

1.	Below 15 years	8
2.	15 to 19 years	28
3.	20 to 29 years	50
4.	30 years or more	5
5.	Unascertainable	8

d. IF YES: For how long has he (she, they) been gone from BC?

6.	Less than one year	12
7.	1 to 4	42
8.	5 to 9	19
9.	10 years or more	19
X.	Unascertainable	

[464] [463] e. IF YES: What various duties or jobs does he (she, they) do in Bangkok?

1.	Housewife	17
2.	Unskilled laborer	19
3.	Skilled laborer	33
	Armed forces	17
	Service	9
	Employee	5
4.	Other (retired, selling things)	2
5.	Unascertainable	4

{166} {593} {602} f. IF YES: During the last year, have you seen this person(s) several times, once, or not at all?

9.	Several times	65
X.	Once	16
Y.	Not at all	8
O.	Unascertainable	3

g. IF YES: Does he (she, they) make regular remittances to this house?

X.	Yes	31
Y.	No	56
O.	Unascertainable	5

[207] 65. Do you listen to the radio regularly, daily, occasionally, seldom, or never?

6.	Regularly-daily	45
7.	Occasionally	66
8.	Seldom	148
9.	Never	60
—	Unascertainable	14

[525] 66.a. Do you play the lottery regularly, occasionally, seldom, or never?

1.	Regularly	20
2.	Occasionally	54
3.	Seldom	220
4.	Never	38
5.	Unascertainable	—
—	No Answer	1

b. IF REGULARLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR SELDOM: Suppose you were to win the second prize of 40,000 baht. What various things would you do with this money?

(See code)

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

162 592 621 average size of family in 1953 is slightly larger than that calculated from the 1949 census.

Disappearance of Some Families from Bangchan

162 178 592 621 When the 1949 and 1953 censuses are paired hamlet by hamlet, appearance of new families and disappearance of some of the old families may be detected. Table 5 shows that during the four years between 1949 and 1953 forty-three families had disappeared from the lists of the seven hamlets constituting Bangchan. This loss was compensated by fifty-three new families, giving a net gain of ten families. In other words, of 288 families existing in 1949, 245 families remained throughout the period. When 53 new families were added to the continuing 245 families, a new total of 298 families was arrived at for 1953. A closer examination, however, will reveal that there were five families which disappeared from one hamlet only to appear in another hamlet of the same Bangchan village. If the seven hamlets are to be considered as one geographical unit, these five families should be deducted from both the disappeared and new families, giving a net disappearance of 38 families and a net appearance of 48 new families, while the number of continuing families becomes 250.

[166] Of 38 families which disappeared from Bangchan, 27 moved out to other villages nearby or afar, while 11 were disintegrated or simply annexed by other families in Bangchan itself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

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TABLE 5

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF BANGCHAN FAMILIES FROM 1949 TO 1953

Hamlet	Number 1949	Number 1953	Continuing			Disappeared				New			
			Total	(1)	(2)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)
BC4	43	40	32	32	0	11	6	0	5	8	3	1	4
BC5	27	28	24	18	6	3	2	1	0	4	1	0	3
BC6	44	47	38	36	2	6	4	0	2	9	4	1	4
KY5	54	63	45	40	5	9	6	1	2	18	13	2	3
KY6	28	31	27	26	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	3
KY7	43	42	37	33	4	6	5	1	0	5	3	0	2
KY8	49	47	42	36	6	7	4	1	2	5	3	0	2
Total	288	298	245	221	24	43	27	5	11	53	27	5	21

Explanation

Continuing (1) . . same family head
Continuing (2) . . different family head

Disappeared (1). . moved out of the village
Disappeared (2). . moved to other hamlet in the village
Disappeared (3). . disintegrated or annexed by other family

New (1). . . . . moved into the village from other village
New (2). . . . . moved in from other hamlet of the village
New (3). . . . . separated from other family in the village.

178 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and
592 her four children had moved out of the village separately
621 to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan.
[792] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old
[888] shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old
592 man in B24 gave his two sons equal shares of his property.
587 He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter
736 apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of
621 two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Rinburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 Case 3: There was in B24 a laboring family of three
592 consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After
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178 the death of her father, it was reported that the woman
592 and her son moved to Bangplee, another rice growing village
621 some fifteen miles to the south. After checking with some
[166] of the former Bangchan residents who are now living in that village, the first report was found to be inaccurate. In fact no one in Bangchan seemed to know where they were. The only hint available to us concerning the mother and son was "Family disintegrated. Mother went one direction, son another direction."

Case 4: A woman and her adopted son were operating
[702] a 22-rai rice farm in BO6. After the death of the mother, the man remained in the village alone for a short time and then was conscripted into the army.

Case 5: After the death of the head of a laboring family in BO6, the wife and their four grownup children left the village separately. In the eyes of villagers this was
[166] another case of "family disintegration." The wife's birth place was in KY8, but she could not go back to her old family because there was not enough land to work.

Case 6: An old woman, age 76, was reported in the
[737] 1949 census to be living alone in KY5. Later she moved
[792] into the secular compartment of the temple (she was an aunt of the headpriest) where she died before the 1953 census was made.

Case 7: A man, age 50, was living in KY8 with his older sister, age 60, and their nephew's son, age 6. When the man died, the older sister pursued her brother's farm

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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178 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families
592 were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the
621 last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration
[423] or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that
[464] six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

178 villages, and six in villages within a distance of from four
592 to fifteen miles from Bangchan. These seventeen families,
621 whose locations were known, were engaged at the time of the
• 166 study in the same occupations they had been when they were in Bangchan -- either farm operating or farm laboring. Our investigation, however, covered only the whole family as a unit -- that is, we cannot say that every single individual constituting these seventeen families when they moved out of
[464] Bangchan was doing farm work in his new location. Only one case was known in which the family head got a permanent job as a janitor in Wat Makasan Primary School in Bangkok. This man was nevertheless commuting regularly between his farm home in Bangplee and his office in the suburb of Bangkok. His taking up a new job was thus a question of an individual member, not of the family as a whole.

It is not likely that the ten families whose locations were not known to us would take up new occupations in Bangkok. If they did work in Bangkok, they should pay some visits to Bangchan at least during festival time or family re-union occasioned by ordination or cremation, and their presence in the village would certainly be known to us. Besides, we were in constant contact with the core of a group of young men who went to work in Bangkok and who knew one another's whereabouts fairly well, and no information about these ten families was available from this source either. Our impression was that they were doing farm work in some villages not too close to Bangchan.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Appearance of New Families in Bangchan

178 592 621 166

In the pairing of the 1949 and 1953 censuses against each other the appearance of new families was detected as was the disappearance of some of the old families which has just been discussed. Table 5 shows that there were 53 new families, but five of these were merely cases of reappearance of existing families from other hamlets of the same village. Actually, therefore, there were only 48 families that were really new in Bangchan.

Of these 48 new families, 27 moved into the village from the outside and 21 evolved from existing families in Bangchan. Of the 27 immigrating families, 18 came from the bordering villages and 9 from distant villages in all directions ranging from Lardprao and Samsen, some ten miles to the southwest, to Prachin, over a hundred miles to the east. [463] While the eighteen families from the bordering were accustomed, as expected, to rice growing, not all of the nine families from distant villages had been farmers. A family head of one of these nine families came from a family of fruit growers, while another family head, who apparently had a more spectacular record, had been engaged in international rice trading. This latter man, who knew some English, had worked in a large rice mill in Nonburi which was exporting rice under strict government control after the war. Discovery by the government agent of irregularities of the firm led to the man's flight abroad to Hongkong or Swatow some eight years ago. It is assumed with his

178 appearance in the village that the case has been closed.
592 One reason he chose to take up residence in Bangchan after
621 business failure in Bangkok was that his wife owned through
166 inheritance a 17-rai parcel of rice land in the village. Another equally important reason was the relatively low cost of living in the village as compared to the city, which could not be overlooked especially when he had a large family of ten.

162 Of the 21 families evolving or separating from
178 existing families in Bangchan during the period from 1949
592 to 1953, sixteen were young married couples seeking inde-
591 pendent families of their own. Eight of these were married
621 before 1949, and the rest after that year. These sixteen young couples altogether contributed, in the 1953 census, 21 children of age-group 0-4 years or about ten percent of all children of that age-group in the whole village.

This process of separation of young married couples from the old families is normal, in fact a characteristic feature, in areas where the nuclear family system predominates. Although some newly wed couples were able to establish independent families immediately, the pattern was that they remained for a year or more with family of either side, during which time they accumulated capital necessary for future establishment. A separate section will be devoted to this important feature of the village economy.

178 In contrast to the above normal separation from old
592 families, the remaining five of the 21 families underwent
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 30

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION OF 104 SELECTED OPERATORS*
Sangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

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Occupation	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Farm operator	104	103	98	96	96	87
Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	1	3
Trader	-	-	-	-	-	2
Investor	-	1	1	1	1	3
Professional	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public servant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Home enterpriser	-	-	-	-	-	-
Priest or novice	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disappeared	-	-	5	7	6	8
Total	104	104	104	104	104	104

* Explanation for those changing occupation:

1949 A became an investor.

1950 B moved out to unknown locality.
C moved out to Lam Kralog.
D moved out to Sai Kong Din.
E moved out to Bang Plee.
F moved out to Bang Plee.

1951 G died, and family moved out to unknown locality.
H moved to Bangkok.

1952 H moved back from Bangkok into the village, became farm laborer.

1953 I moved to Lard Krabang.
J stopped farming, became an investor.
K stopped farming, became an investor.
L stopped farming, became a trader.
M stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
N stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
O's occupation became obscure (under miscellaneous).
P stopped farming, became a trader.
Q's family lost its identity, was annexed by a farm operating family not in the sample.

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The lean time from the middle of February to the end of May is devoted by some villagers, mostly young men, to wage earning outside the village. The size of this temporary labor migration depends on the job opportunities, and these job opportunities depend largely on personal contact. Seasonal off farm jobs are: (a) crude carpentry work usually on nonpermanent construction where cheap temporary labor is preferred; and (b) plantation work in the sugar cane region of Cholburi some eighty miles east of Bangkok.

Inherent Excess of Expenses over Incomes

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The prevalence of debts in the form of credit purchases among Bangchan farmers indicates an excess of expenses over incomes. It has been shown that most cash loans were sought to clear high interest bearing credit purchase accounts, although some were for productive purposes. Even in this latter case, it has been observed that farmers usually borrowed no more than an amount that was immediately needed together with cash on hand to pay for the capital investment. This means that after such capital purchases there was less cash for the household and operating expenses, and so there would be a higher credit account to be settled in the following harvest.

Low incomes coupled with relatively high expenses leave little or no room for internal savings.

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The situation is aggravated by an increasing rate of consumption relative to the ability to produce. While